

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 21.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1807.

[PRICE 10D.]

"This more than half repays whole years of pain.

"Time, health, and fortune are not spent in vain."—POPE.

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TO THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER. LETTER XVII.

Botley, 19th May, 1807.

GENTLEMEN,

Your prospect of success, in the present struggle, becomes, day after day, more promising; and, seeing the lead which Sir Francis Burdett has, by your good sense and public spirit, now obtained upon the poll, there appears to be little doubt of his return to parliament, to that assembly which contained no man to raise his voice against the doubling of the Income Tax, exempting, at the same time, the *King's* Funded Property from the operation of that tax; no man to oppose even the slightest resistance to the adding of many thousands a year to the already too large pensions and grants of the Royal Family, nor to the introducing of many thousands of Hanoverian troops.

But, Gentlemen, in proportion as your exertions promise ultimate success, you must expect to see increase the activity and malice of corruption. I have, indeed, great confidence in your zeal and perseverance; but, experience has taught me, that, against such a system of corruption as you have to contend with, to struggle with success is almost impossible. Be, therefore, I beseech you, vigilant. Let no man of you say, "*my vote is not wanted.*" The vote of every one of you is wanted; for, the vote of every man of you will add to the weight of the decision. Delays are always dangerous; and especially so in cases like this. Let no man, therefore, who can by any possibility vote to-day, put off voting till to-morrow. There are yet *thousands* of you to vote for Sir Francis Burdett; and who, that has a vote to give, will not hereafter be ashamed to make an *excuse* for having neglected to give it? Remember, that you are almost the only body of electors now left in the kingdom, who have really the power of electing whom you please. With you almost alone it remains to speak the real sense of the people of England. The king has ordered his commissioners to tell us, that he has dissolved

the parliament in order to "*recur to the sense of his people.*" That sense, Gentlemen, you almost alone have it in your power to express; and, therefore, through your lips, let the king hear it, and that too in an audible voice.

As, in all such cases, Gentlemen, corruption has had recourse to calumny. Let there appear a man, no matter how spotless his life, who is the enemy of corruption, and instantly all the agents of corruption, like a nest of serpents, each with his poisonous sting, and with a hiss unanimous, dart forth against him. Thus, though of opposite factions, you now see the Morning Chronicle and the Courier, the Oracle and the Morning Post, the Times and the Sun, all joining to calumniate and vilify the object of your suffrages. All the refuted falsehoods of 1803 have been re-asserted with as much confidence as if they had been admitted truths. Sir Francis Burdett is called "*the associate of O'Connor;*" and this is set down as a crime to his account by those very men who vindicated O'Connor at the time of his trial at Maidstone, and who even now eulogize the late ministers, many of whom *swore* that they had long been associates with O'Connor, and that they thought his principles were precisely the same as their own. This was sworn by the Duke of Norfolk, by the late Lord Chancellor, Erskine, by Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, I believe, and certainly by *Mr. Sheridan*, who is now a candidate for your votes, and who is strenuously recommended by those very writers who impute to Sir Francis Burdett, as a crime, that he was acquainted with O'Connor! Mr. Sheridan, as well as almost all the rest of those "*associates*" of O'Connor, was old enough to be the father of Sir Francis Burdett. Yet, they are all of the king's privy council, while, to Sir Francis Burdett, an acquaintance with O'Connor is to be imputed as a crime never to be washed away!—Another charge against him is, that he was "*the associate of the traitor Despard;*" and the inference left to be drawn is as evident as it is malignant. The fact is, that Sir Francis Burdett knew no more of Despard, than that he was an Englishman, confined in a loathsome prison, without any charge publicly exhibited

against him, and without being brought to trial, but released, at last, in consequence of the law of Habeas Corpus being restored to practice. The miserable man, thus bereft of the means of support, and thrown upon the charity of a world but too apt to seek an excuse in accusations against those who implore its aid, appealed, through his wife, I believe it was, to the compassion of him who had shown compassion upon him while he was in prison; and, by that appeal obtained, I believe, some relief. But, as to *acquaintanceship*, none, I am assured, ever existed between him and Sir Francis Burdett; and, as to the assertion, which was made at the time, that "he was seen walking arm in arm with Sir Francis, in the lobby of the House of Commons, on the evening before he was taken up," I would first ask these vile calumniators, whether, supposing the fact to be true, it would not amount to almost proof, that there was nothing criminal in their minds, as known to each other. But, the fact is this; that, on the evening referred to, Sir Francis Burdett was going into the House *with another member*, when, in the presence of from thirty to forty persons, Despard, who made one of the assemblage in the lobby, came up to Sir Francis, with a letter in his hand, which he asked him to frank. Having done this, at a little desk which is fixed up for the purpose close by the door of the House, Sir Francis immediately left him. This was the way in which Sir Francis Burdett "was seen" with Despard; this was the circumstance that was tortured into a presumptive proof of his being, in some way or other, an associate in the guilt of this unfortunate man! It is for you, Gentlemen, to make, by your voice of approbation, loudly and clearly expressed, atonement for this cruel injustice towards Sir Francis Burdett.—The Third Charge (for the three are always strung together) is, that, when, in 1803, a county-meeting was called to resolve upon something about what was called the *Defence of the Country*, Sir Francis Burdett told the people, that "*the Country was not worth defending*." This is not only a direct, but a wilful falsehood. Sir Francis, upon the occasion referred to, said, "that it was the good old custom to make the *Redress of Grievances* precede the demand of *Sacrifices from the People*;" and that, as to the means of defending the country, he thought the most likely way to defend it securely, was, to begin by reforming abuses, by effectually preventing a waste of the public money, by

"lessening, if possible, the burden of taxation, and thereby convincing the people, that they had a country worth defending." This I also have said repeatedly. This I say now. This who does not say? The base misrepresentation originated in the Morning Post, then the property of Mr. Daniel Stuart, who is still keeping it up in his present paper, the Courier. At the time, though still a good deal misled as to Sir Francis Burdett, I detected and exposed the malice and injustice of this representation, which was reprobated by men, in general, of all parties; and I could name as many as five or six members of parliament, and those, too, men of some repute for moral as well as political rectitude, who spoke to me with abhorrence of that very falsehood, which the venal slaves of both factions are now endeavouring to pass upon you for an undeniable and even an acknowledged truth!

To be hated, misrepresented, and vilified by all those, who, either directly or indirectly, prey upon the public, always has been, and always will be, the lot of every man, who endeavours to guard the public against its Plunderers; and, as their hostility is naturally proportioned to their fears of detection and punishment, which fears again are proportioned to his talents and integrity, it would be strange indeed, if, upon the list of those who are entitled to their mortal malice, the Plunderers did not give the very first place to Sir Francis Burdett. Of others, here and there, and now and then, they discover their hatred; but, of him at all times and in all seasons; for though the factions are sometimes so deeply engaged in vilifying one another, and would seem, indeed, to have exhausted upon each other all the terms of reproach; yet, no sooner does the idea of his efforts and views come athwart their minds, than instantly, laying aside their mutual accusations and reproaches, they, like the squabbling Robbers in the Romance, set upon him as their common and implacable enemy.

To cherish those whom your mortal enemy fears, and hates because he fears, is, in general, a tolerably good rule of action. Had you, therefore, no other proof of Sir Francis Burdett's merit, than that the Plunderers, from the very biggest to the very least, hate him more than they hate any other man, and all other men, this alone would be a sufficient inducement for you now to exert yourselves, not only to return him to parliament, but to return him by an unexampled majority; and thereby to shew your detestation of Political Corruption and of that

wide-spreading Public Plunder, which is its inseparable attendant. Suffer no one to dismay you with the question of "what can *one* man do in parliament?" *Beginnings*, in politics as in numeration, must always be by *one*. There must be *one*, before there can be *many*; and, in tracing any event, whatever it may be, to its source, you will always find that source in the mind of one person. For my part, I anticipate the most important Constitutional Reforms from the election of Sir Francis Burdett, especially if you do your duty in sending him to parliament by such a majority as you are able to give him; and I again call upon you, to reflect, each man of you in his own mind, on the mortification, on the shame, which must hereafter be felt by everyman, who, when he listens to the praises bestowed upon those who elected Sir Francis Burdett, shall say to himself: "I was an Elector of Westminster, and no part of those praises be-
"long to me!" Such a man, instead of claiming his share of the great honour due to the City, must see, in that honour, his own personal disgrace.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful friend,
and obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS
OF THE
CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.
LETTER XVIII.

Botley, 20th May, 1807.

GENTLEMEN,

In the sixteenth letter, which I did myself the honour to address to you, I predicted, that you would soon see evidences of a removal of the unjust prejudices against Sir Francis Burdett; and, it now appears, that the work of conversion has already made considerable progress; for, I find a meeting of Mr. Sheridan's friends, he himself being present, and Major Downs, his Lieutenant, being one of the leaders, declaring, in the most distinct and public manner, that Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Sheridan are *the fittest persons to represent you in parliament*; and, I find Mr. Sheridan declaring, at the Hustings, on the 18th instant, that, if that "*great and virtuous man*," Mr. Fox were now alive, *Sir Francis Burdett is the man, whom, before all other men, he would recommend to your*

choice." This is well. But, Gentlemen, we may now, surely, address ourselves to the still-prejudiced opponents of Sir Francis Burdett, and put it to their good sense, what must have been *the motive* whence this same Sir Francis Burdett was so vilified by the Whigs, during the last election? Of the premeditated, the crafty, the cold-blooded attack of Mr. Whitbread, in a letter to Sir Francis, reserved, like the loaded pistol of a secret foe, to be let off at a moment when the assailed party was well known not to have a moment's time to prepare for resistance; of this attack, and of its evident object, you need not be reminded, it being, I trust, so imprinted upon your memories as never to be effaced. Nor need I scarcely remind you, that, at their several dinners and carousals, the friends of Mr. Sheridan, especially Lord William Russell and Peter Moore, chose, as a standing subject of their abuse, the political conduct and principles of Sir Francis Burdett. Nay, in the election bills, issued from their committee, you read "*Paull, Buonaparte, Burdett, and the Devil for ever!*" Yet, Gentlemen, by these persons, or, at least, by their principal, it has now been discovered, that, if Mr. Fox had been alive, he would have recommended Sir Francis Burdett as *the fittest man* in the world to represent you in parliament!

But, Gentlemen, I confide in your discernment for the defeating of the obvious purpose of this new language on their part. Be assured, that, at the bottom of their hearts, *they hate* Sir Francis Burdett as cordially as before; and that their object, in these praises of him, is, not, perhaps, to obtain a seat for Mr. Sheridan, or rather for his son, *at this time*, but so to worm themselves back into your good opinion, as to secure a chance of success at Westminster *upon some future occasion*, and which occasion, being nice calculators in such matters, they suppose to be, in all probability, at no very great distance. I beg you to observe, with what assurance, increasing day after day, they now obtrude themselves upon your indulgence. Mr. Sheridan, like a rat lately escaped to his hole, first peeps out with the greatest apparent modesty and diffidence. Your forbearance emboldens him, till, at the end of the tenth day, he has the hardihood to tell you, that, if you choose him, those who have given him the seat which he has already secured, *have given him leave to transfer that seat to his son!* And thus, Gentlemen, you, who are making such laudable exertions to tear up corruption by its very roots, are, to your face, solicited to aid in the supporting of that very corruption! And,

in whose behalf is this solicitation made? Why, in behalf of the Younger Sheridan, one of the "juvenile aristocracy," who led the bludgeon-men at the last election; the heir and hope of the *royal* house of Sheridan, who, at the time that he was labouring to stifle your voices in Westminster, was muster-master-general of Ireland, at a salary of 3 000 pounds a year, and who was, at the same time, a captain in a regiment serving abroad, receiving full pay in that capacity also. And, Gentlemen, this is the man, a man who, in return for the thousands of the public money which he has received, has never rendered one moment's service to the country, and who has distinguished himself only as an enemy to your liberties; this is the man, for whose sake, nay, to place whom in parliament, to place whom upon the same bench with Sir Francis Burdett, you are openly solicited to give your countenance and support to the corruptions of the Borough system, those corruptions to which the country owes all the miseries under which it now labours! An insult so gross, any thing so contemptuous of men's understanding, has never, that I recollect, before reached my knowledge; and, as such, you will, I trust, consider and resent it.

Having, as, I think, you now have, by your admirable public-spirit, secured the return of Sir Francis Burdett, it remains for you to consider, to which of the other three candidates (Mr. Paull having withdrawn) you ought to give the preference. And here, Gentlemen, as in all other cases, look to your *principles* as your guide. Those principles are, first, that the constitution, particularly as to the representation in the House of Commons, ought to be speedily restored, and, of course, that (as the act of settlement provided) *no place-man or pensioner should have a seat in that House*; and 2d, that there ought to be set on foot a rigid inquiry into abuses in the expenditure of the public money, with a fixed determination, on the part of the parliament, to expose and punish peculators of every rank and degree. These are the great principles which you are now proclaiming as yours by your votes; and, therefore, the question for you to put to yourselves, is simply this, "which of these three candidates is most likely to contribute towards bringing these principles into practice?" Mr. Elliot is notoriously supported by those, who would, figuratively speaking, stifle your principles, and who, were not your labour necessary to the support of their idleness, would literally stifle your voices. The choice, then, lies between Mr. Sheridan and Lord Cochrane. The former

is not only the avowed supporter of the doctrine, that place-men and pensioners ought to be in the House of Commons, but is, even at this moment, a *sinecure place-man himself*, and, the son, who lately was one, would have been one still, had they not thought, that, as a permanent thing, a chance with the OUT faction was better than a place with the IN faction. That Mr. Sheridan possesses rare talents is a truth that cannot and need not be denied; but, Gentlemen, in all the discoveries relating to peculators, have those talents been once exerted? No; not that I recollect, at any rate; and, indeed, who can expect, from a seeker after place, any exertions in such cases? The two factions hate one another. But, their hatred is the hatred of *rivals*. The object of their pursuit is the same; and the very same is their principle of action; never, therefore, expect from any man, who belongs to either of the factions, that he will act as the faithful guardian of the liberties and properties of the *people*, upon whom both factions seek for the privilege of preying with impunity, in one way or another. Let the place-men and pensioners, while they are suffered to enter the House of Commons, come from the rotten boroughs; but, let no body of really free men, and, above all, let not the free and independent Electors of Westminster disgrace themselves by the choosing of a place-man, or the advocate for the sending of place-men and pensioners to that House. This, you will bear in mind, was the great point upon which Sir Francis Burdett was attacked by Mr. Whitbread; and, for you to choose a place-man, or an advocate for the place and pension system, as a colleague for Sir Francis Burdett, would be, at once, to nullify your own voice as to all purposes except that of insulting him, who, with a slight alteration in his words, made use of at Brentford, would, doubtless, exclaim: "you have chosen the Manager of Drury Lane Theatre, and for what services the devil only knows!" — As to Lord Cochrane, you object, and so do I, that he is an officer in the navy; and, therefore, notwithstanding his explanation about a court-martial being necessary to cashiering, he must be, *(as long as he continues in that profession)* in a great measure, at the mercy of the crown; to which must be added the self-evident truth, that, while he is at sea, he cannot be in the House of Commons. But, this objection, though weighty in itself, is trifling compared with the objection against him, who is the advocate for place-men and pensioners being in the House of Commons, who is a *sinecure place-man himself*, who is

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a member of one of the preying factions, and who is, and must ever be, directly opposed to the very principle, to restore which to practice is the great object which has now called for your exemplary endeavours. When some motion for restoring to you the blessings of the constitution shall be made, Lord Cochrane may, possibly, be at sea; but, he will not, as Mr. Sheridan would be, present to give his vote against that restoration. But, he may be present, and, then, you have his unequivocal pledge, that he will vote for such a reform as shall banish place-men and pensioners from the House of Commons, and his pledge, not less unequivocal, that he will, to the utmost of his power, support every motion for the exposure and punishment of a waste of the public money. So many have deceived you with pledges, that you may be well excused, if you are not in haste to confide in them; but, I heard Lord Cochrane, voluntarily declare, in the most unequivocal manner, at Honiton, that he never would, as long as he lived, ask for, or accept, any emolument whatever out of the public money, except in the regular line of his naval profession, and, that this promise should extend to all those, relations or others, who might, in anywise, be dependent upon him for support. The same promise he has now made, in the like voluntary manner, to you; and, my firm belief is, that he will scrupulously adhere to his word. But, Gentlemen, at the very least, Lord Cochrane has the merit openly to have proclaimed, as his own, the great principle, for which Sir Francis Burdett has so long contended, and which you will now, I trust, stamp as the principle of the independent people of England; and, observe, too, that, amongst all the numerous election addresses that you have seen, his is the *only one*, except that of your own committee, in which this principle is distinctly avowed. Convinced, as I am, therefore, that it is giving effect to this principle which alone can tend to the restoration of the constitution, and thereby insure the safety of the throne as limited by law, and the enjoyment of those rights and liberties, which were obtained by the wisdom and the valour of our forefathers, I cannot help expressing an earnest hope, that, of the three candidates, Lord Cochrane will be, by you, decidedly preferred.

I remain,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful friend,

And obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS
OF THE
CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER IX.

Botley, 22d of May, 1807.

GENTLEMEN,

The intelligence, brought me by this day's post, induces me to address this one more letter to you, with the hope that it may reach you before the close of the poll; for, if I should be the means of setting only a single man of you right, upon any one point, with respect to which that man may be in error, I am satisfied that I shall thereby render much more service to the country than will ever be rendered by the expenditure of all those millions of our earning, which, apparently, are now to be sent to the continent of Europe.

I do not suppose, that many of you are likely to be at all misled by the speeches of Mr. Sheridan; but, there are some parts of them, which have not yet been sufficiently commented upon by me; and, though I have already spoken (in my letter of yesterday) of his new language respecting Sir Francis Burdett, I cannot refrain from saying a few words more upon that subject.—In his speech of the 19th instant, he, as it were incidentally, but not without a premeditated design, introduced the name of *Mr. Bosville*, well known to have always been one of those most esteemed by Sir Francis Burdett; and, this gentleman he called “*one of the “honestest and best patriots in the country,”*” a character which Mr. Bosville certainly merits, and which he securely possessed without this extorted tribute on the part of Mr. Sheridan. But, Gentlemen, this master-stroke of flattery; this compliment to Sir Francis Burdett, conveyed in praises of his most valued friends, will not, I trust, for one moment, deceive you, for the sole purpose of securing whose votes, at another, if not at this election, all these new professions of respect are manifestly made. Nevertheless, these professions, however insincere, are valuable, inasmuch as they are indications of what Mr. Sheridan, at least, considers as the growing sentiment of the public, with regard to the principles and the character of Sir Francis Burdett. He told us, too, that *Mr. Brand*, one of the members for Hertfordshire, is upon the list of your subscription. Mr. Brand's name has no peculiar value in it; but, while, as an individual, he has his share of merit, his connection

with the Whig ministry, coupled with this act, stands as a tolerably good proof of the insincerity of the Whigs, who, to a man, at the last elections for Middlesex as well as Westminster, represented Sir Francis Burdett as being every thing short of a downright traitor, and as aiming, at the very least, to overturn the kingly government of England. Gentlemen, all offences against ourselves are to be forgiven, the moment we are convinced of the contrition of the offender; and, though we are justified in being more slow to forgive offences committed against our country, those offences too ought to be freely forgiven, but not until the offender has produced a *security* that he will offend no more. But, in both cases, there are some offences, which can never be *forgotten*; and, of this class was the wicked and base handle, which the Whigs made of the phrase, "*the best of kings*." Oh! it were indeed a reproach to you to forget the interpretation which Mr. Byng and others put upon this phrase! That interpretation, that out-cry, still baser than the out-cry of "*popery*," was used by the time-serving Whigs for the purpose of ingratiating themselves with the adherents of Pitt, for which they have been most justly punished, and that, too, by the intrigues of that very faction. How careful was Mr. Byng to disclaim all connection, all community even of wishes, with Sir Francis Burdett! He, good loyal gentleman, said, that he was "firmly attached to the constitution, and that he *affectionately loved the best of kings*," turning, while he uttered the words, his sapient eyes towards Sir Francis. "*The best of kings*" has now most justly rewarded Mr. Byng and his faction; and, that very magistrate, John Bowles, whom they left in quiet possession of all his offices and emoluments, apparently for no other reason than that he, in conjunction with his bosom associate, Redhead, were the notorious calumniators of Sir Francis Burdett, has now been the principal instrument of bringing the long possessed seat of Mr. Byng into jeopardy! Well done John! Holloo John! Hunt them with thy vice-scenting nose; tear them, good John, with thy worshipful fangs, and scratch, at last, a hole for them in that collection of incomparable rubbish, thy Anti-Jacobin Review!

There are two other topics, Gentlemen, upon which I must say a few words by way of comment on Mr. Sheridan's speeches; the propriety of carrying on an election by subscription, and the expressions of my Lord Cochrane with respect to Mr. Fox. Upon

these topics, Mr. Sheridan has, if his speeches have been truly reported, taken a most foul advantage of his lordship, who, as to subscriptions, complained of the manner in which Mr. Sheridan was supported at the last election, a complaint which his crafty adversary has endeavoured to represent as an implied censure upon your present subscription. But Gentlemen, you certainly have not overlooked the wide distinction here to be drawn? Mr. Sheridan's election was supported by a *secret* subscription of PEERS OF PARLIAMENT, several of whom were, at the same time, servants of the king, receiving large salaries out of the public purse, and, of course, engaged in carrying on an election against the people with the people's money, to which must be added, that peers of parliament are, by that constitution, for the preservation of which we are called on "to spend our last shilling and shed the last drop of our blood," strictly prohibited from *interfering*, either directly or indirectly, in the elections of members of the House of Commons; and, if, to pay money for the purpose of keeping out one man and of bringing in another; if this be not *interfering* in such elections, the prohibition can be considered as nothing more than one of those numerous nominal securities, by which the people have been so long deluded. Your subscription, on the contrary, is prohibited by no law or usage. You have been *openly* invited to subscribe. The list of subscribers shuns the inspection of man. You are not servants of the crown; and, it is your *own money* that you give, which, if necessary to the preservation of your rights, it is full as much, at least, your duty to give, as it is your duty to pay any sum, in any shape whatever, for the purpose of keeping an enemy from your shores. Lord Cochrane, therefore, when he complained of the subscription, by which the election of Mr. Sheridan was supported, conveyed, you must clearly perceive, not the smallest censure of that subscription, which has now been entered into by you.

As to Lord Cochrane's expressions with respect to Mr. Fox, they were, as nearly as I have been able to discover, these: "that Mr. Fox in himself, was, or would have been, an honour to his country; but, that you should take great care not to bestow your confidence on those, of whom there had been many, who were attached only to the baser part of Mr. Fox." Taking advantage of the cry, excited by these words, among some dozen or two of his own scene-shifters, or of those

unthinking beings, who are led merely by the sound of names, Mr. Sheridan has made several efforts to excite a prejudice against Lord Cochrane, who gave you most wholesome advice, and who said, or insinuated, nothing, except in *praise* of Mr. Fox, which can with truth be denied. Observe, too, that the mention of Mr. Fox originated, not with his lordship, but with Mr. Sheridan, who had, with true theatrical address, introduced that name for the purpose of exciting in you compassion towards himself, whom he took care to represent as the faithful follower and bosom friend of the beloved deceased. Well; let us meet him upon this ground; and, then let us ask, *what Mr. Fox did for us*. Before he came into power, he solemnly declared, that he never would hold a place as a minister, until the parliament had been reformed; he came into place, and never did he utter the word reform afterwards, but, on the contrary, set his face against all those who endeavoured to bring about a correction of even notorious abuses; he was the man, who, as his very first ministerial act, brought in a bill for enabling one of his colleagues in office to hold a large sinecure place, which, by law, was incompatible with the active office he then had been promoted too; he, who had, only the year before, complained that the minister, Pitt, would, by degrees, take away all the income of the people, because he proposed to add a sixth to the Income-tax, defended, as soon as he was in office, a bill which raised that same tax to ten per centum; he, who had for so many years been complaining against the influence of the crown, was one of those who brought in the bill for adding to the Pensions of the Royal Family, at the same time that, by another act, the King's Property in the Funds, under whatever name invested, was exempted from the Income-tax, and that, too, at a time when Mr. Fox declared, that it was impossible to lay a new tax without affecting the prosperity of the nation in some way or other; he, who had, upon every occasion that offered, all his life long, reprobated the introduction of foreign troops, did, amongst his first acts as a minister, give his sanction to a bill for adding to the ten thousand foreign troops then in this country; he, who had all his life long contended against unnecessary wars, and especially wars for the sake of Hanover, did, in his very first published dispatch, declare, that he should advise the king never to make peace for England, except upon the condition of Hanover being restored; he, who, upon numberless occasions, had asserted,

that all the calamities and disgrace of this country were the work of the minister Pitt, gave a vote for making the people of that same country pay the debts of that same minister Pitt, and, that, too, expressly *upon the score of his merits*; he was a sinecure place-man, doubly-blessed, from his cradle to his grave, and he, upon more than one occasion, contended, in parliament, that it was *unconstitutional* to lessen the number of patent places, which he asserted to be *private property* as much as house and land.—These, Gentlemen, are a part of the things which Mr. Fox did for us; and, as I told you in my second or third letter, if this be the sort of representative that suits you, the honour of representing you, would, in no case, be coveted by me. But, it is not so. You have opened your eyes. You have seen, that, for too long a time, *names*, and not *principles*, had been your guide; and you have now resolved, despising alike Whiggism and Toryism, to ask, who will act most justly by the country? The intention of Mr. Sheridan evidently is to wheedle you back into that state which exhibited you as the mere tools of the government, on one side, and of the great families on the other side, who, together, by the means of a *quiet compromise*, left you no more of the real freedom of election than is exercised by the electors of Old Sarum. From this degraded state you have manfully risen to the assertion and exercise of your rights; but, this honourable change you owe not to Mr. Fox, while to Mr. Sheridan you owe every means that he was able to use to prevent that change. The former contentedly suffered the minister of the day to give him his colleague; and, as to the latter, after having completely inveigled you into an election of Lord Percy, conducted as quietly as that of Gatton, or of Ryegate; he coalesced with Sir Samuel Hood, joined hand and heart with those who were your bitterest enemies, and who had been the bitterest enemies of Fox himself, in order to subdue you by force. Judge, therefore, Gentlemen, whether Mr. Sheridan be a fit person for the colleague of Sir Francis Burdett; or whether you ought to leave him to the support of the play-actors, scene-shifters, and licence-runners, marshalled under that respectable matron, whom he brought as a witness against his electioneering friends, Messrs. Weatherhead and Drake.—Of Mr. Fox I never seek to say harm; but, if challenged to speak, the truth must be spoken; and, the truth is, as Lord Cochrane evidently believes, that, though Mr. Fox was a man of rare and wonderful talents though he was

kind and generous in his nature, and though he loved his country most sincerely; yet that he had not, as Major Cartwright told him, "the power to say *nay* to bad men," and that that failing led him so to act as to render very little benefit to his country, while he notoriously gave countenance to many men, who did it great and lasting injury.

That, henceforward, you may reject, with equal scorn, the appellation of *Foxite*, of *Pittite*, of *Whig*, or of *Tory*; that you may, in the exercise of your elective rights, be influenced by *principles* and not by *names*; and that your conduct, by becoming an example to electors in general, or a *timely indication to the elected*, may lead to a constitutional reform of the gross abuses that exist, and thereby produce the restoration of our liberties and ensure the safety of the throne, is the unfeigned wish of

Your faithful friend

And obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

POOR LAWS.

Being the Third Letter of A. O.

"A swaggering paradox, when once explained, soon
"dwindles into an unmeaning common-place."

BURKE.

SIR,—This excellent saying of a great man was never more strictly applicable to any system than it is to Mr. Malthus's paradox, and his explanation of it. It seemed, on the first publication of the *Essay on Population*, as if the whole world was going to be turned topsy-turvy; all our ideas of moral good and evil were in a manner confounded, we scarcely knew whether we stood on our head or our heels; but, after exciting considerable expectation, giving us a good shake, and making us a little dizzy, Mr. M. does, as we do when we shew the children London—sets us on our feet again, and every thing goes on as before. The common notions that prevailed on this subject, till our author's first population scheme tended to weaken them, were, that life is a blessing, and that the more people could be maintained in any state in a tolerable degree of health, comfort, and decency, the better: that want and misery are not desirable in themselves, that famine is not to be courted for its own sake, that wars, disease, and pestilence are not what every friend of his country or his species should pray for in the first place: that vice in its different shapes is a thing that the world could do very well without, and that if it could be got rid of altogether, it would be a great gain. In short, that the object both of the moralist and

politician, was to diminish as much as possible the quantity of vice and misery existing in the world; without apprehending that by thus effectually introducing more virtue and happiness, more reason and good sense, that by improving the manners of a people, removing pernicious habits and principles of acting, or securing greater plenty, and a greater number of mouths to partake of it, they were doing a disservice to humanity. Then comes Mr. M. with his octavo book, and tells us there is another great evil, which had never been found out, or at least not sufficiently attended to till his time; namely, excessive population; that this evil was infinitely greater and more to be dreaded than all the others put together; and that its approach could only be checked by vice and misery; that any increase of virtue or happiness was the direct way to hasten it on; and that in proportion as we attempted to improve the condition of mankind, and lessened the restraints of vice and misery, we threw down the only barriers that could defend us from this most formidable scourge of the species,—population. Vice and misery were indeed evils, but they were absolutely necessary evils; necessary to prevent the introduction of others of an incalculably and inconceivably greater magnitude; and that every proposal to lessen their actual quantity, on which the measure of our safety depended, might be attended with the most ruinous consequences, and ought to be looked upon with horror. I think, Sir, this description of the tendency and complexion of Mr. M.'s first *Essay* is not in the least exaggerated, but an exact and faithful picture of the impression which it made on every one's mind. After taking some time to recover from the surprise and hurry into which so great a discovery would naturally throw him, he comes forward again with a large quarto, in which he is at great pains both to say and unsay all that he had said in his former volume; and upon the whole concludes, that population is in itself a good thing, that it is never likely to do much harm, that virtue and happiness ought to be promoted by every practicable means, and that the most effectual as well as desirable check to excessive population is *moral restraint*. The mighty discovery thus reduced to, and pieced out by common sense, the wonder vanishes, and we breathe a little freely again. Mr. M. is however by no means willing to give up his old doctrine, or *eat his own words*: he stickles stoutly for it at times. He has his fits of reason and his fits of extravagance, his yielding and his obstinate moments, fluctuating between the two, and vibrating back-

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wards and forwards with a dexterity of self-contradiction which it is wonderful to behold. The following passage is so curious in this respect that I cannot help quoting it in this place. Speaking of the reply of the author of the *Political Justice* to his former work, he observes, "But, Mr. Godwin says, that if he looks into the past history of the world, he does not see that increasing population has been controuled and confined by vice and misery alone. *In this observation I cannot agree with him.* I will thank Mr. Godwin to name to me any check that in past ages has contributed to keep down the population to the level of the means of subsistence, that does not fairly come under some form of vice or misery, *except indeed the check of moral restraint, which I have mentioned in the course of this work;* and which, to say the truth, whatever hopes we may entertain of its prevalence in future, has undoubtedly in past ages operated with very inconsiderable force.*" When I assure the reader that I give him this passage fairly and fully, I think he will be of opinion with me, that it would be difficult to produce an instance of a more miserable attempt to reconcile a contradiction by childish evasion, to insist upon an argument, and give it up in the same breath. Does Mr. M. really think that he has such an absolute right and authority over this subject of population, that, provided he mentions a principle, or shews that he is not ignorant of it, and cannot be caught *napping* by the critics, he is at liberty to say that it has or has not had any operation, just as he pleases, and that the state of the fact is a matter of perfect indifference? He contradicts the opinion of Mr. G. that vice and misery are not the only checks to population, and gives as a proof of his assertion, that he himself truly has mentioned another check. Thus after flatly denying that moral restraint has any effect at all, he modestly concludes by saying that it has had some, no doubt, but promises that it will never have a great deal. Yet in the very next page he says, "On this sentiment, whether virtue, prudence, or pride, which I have already noticed under the name of moral restraint, or of the more comprehensive title, the *preventive check*, it will appear, that in the sequel of this work, I shall lay considerable stress," p. 385. This kind of reasoning is enough to give one the head-

* The prevalence of this check may be estimated by the general proportion of virtue and happiness in the world, for if there had been no such check, there could have been nothing but vice and misery.

ache. But to take things in their order.—The most singular thing in this singular performance of our author is, that it should have been originally ushered into the world as the most complete and only satisfactory answer to the speculations of Godwin, Condorcet and others, or to what has been called the modern philosophy. A more unaccountable piece of wrong-headedness, a total perversion of reason could hardly be devised by the wit of man. Whatever we may think of the doctrine of the progressive improvement of the human mind, or of a state of society in which every thing will be subject to the control of reason, however absurd, unnatural or impracticable, we may conceive such a system to be, certainly it cannot, without the grossest inconsistency, be objected to it, that such a system would necessarily be rendered abortive, because, if reason should ever get this mastery over all our actions, we should then be governed entirely by our physical appetites and passions, without the least regard to consequences. This appears to me a refinement on absurdity. Several philosophers and speculatists had supposed that a certain state of society, very different from any that has hitherto existed, was in itself practicable; and that if it were realised, it would be productive of a far greater degree of human happiness than is compatible with the present institutions of society. I have nothing to do with either of these points. I will allow to any one who pleases that all such schemes are "false, sophistical, unfounded in the extreme." But, I cannot agree with Mr. Malthus that they would be *bad* in proportion as they were *good*; that the true and only unanswerable argument against all such schemes is that very degree of *happiness*, virtue, and improvement, to which they are supposed to give rise. And I cannot agree with him in this, because it is contrary to common sense, and leads to the subversion of every principle of moral reasoning. Without perplexing himself with the subtle arguments of his opponents, Mr. M. comes boldly forward, and says, "Gentlemen, I am willing to make you large concessions. I am ready to allow the practicability and the desirableness of your schemes, the more desirable and the more practicable, the better; the more happiness, the more virtue, the more knowledge, the more refinement, the better; all these will only add to the exuberant strength of my argument. I have a short answer to all objections, (to be sure, I found it in an old political receipt-book, called *Prospects*, &c. by one Wallace, a man not much known, but no matter for that, *finding is*

keeping, you know:") and with one smart stroke of his wand, on which are inscribed certain mystical characters, and algebraic proportions, he levels the fairy enchantment with the ground. For, says Mr. M. though this improved state of society were actually realised, it could not possibly continue, but must soon terminate in a state of things pregnant with evils far more insupportable than any we at present endure, in consequence of the excessive population which would follow, and the impossibility of providing for its support. This is what I do not understand. It is, in other words, to assert that the doubling the population of a country, for example, after a certain period, will be attended with the most pernicious effects, by want, famine, bloodshed, and a state of general violence and confusion; that this will afterwards lead to vices and practices still worse than the physical evils they are designed to prevent, &c. and yet that at this period those who will be the most interested in preventing these consequences, and the best acquainted with the circumstances that lead to them, will neither have the understanding to foresee, nor the heart to feel, nor the will to prevent the sure evils, to which they expose themselves and others; though this advanced state of population, which does not admit of any addition without danger, is supposed to be the immediate result of a more general diffusion of the comforts and conveniences of life, of more enlarged and liberal views, of a more refined and comprehensive regard to our own permanent interests as well as those of others, of correspondent habits and manners, and of a state of things, in which our gross animal appetites will be under the constant control of reason. The influence of rational motives, of refined and long-sighted views of things is supposed to have taken place of narrow, selfish and merely sensual motives: this is implied in the very statement of the question. "What conjuration and what mighty magic" should thus blind our philosophical descendants on this single subject in which they are more interested than in all others, so that they should stand with their eyes open on the edge of a precipice, and instead of retreating from it, should throw themselves down headlong. I am unable to comprehend; unless indeed, we suppose that the impulse to propagate the species is so strong and uncontrollable, that reason has no power over it. This is what Mr. M. was at one time strongly disposed to assert, and what he is at present half inclined to retract. Without this foundation to rest on, the whole of his reasoning is utterly unintelligible. It seems to

me a most preposterous way of answering a man who chuses to assert, that mankind are capable of being governed entirely by their reason, and that it would be better for them, if they were to say no; for, if they were governed entirely by it, they would be much less able to attend to its dictates than they are at present; and the evils which would thus follow from the unrestrained increase of population, would be excessive. Almost every little miss who has had the advantage of a boarding-school education, or been properly tutored by her mamma, whose hair is not of an absolute flame colour, and who has hopes in time, if she behaves prettily, of getting a good husband, waits patiently year after year, looks about her, rejects or trifles with half a dozen lovers, favouring one, laughing at another, "chusing among them, as one picks pears," saying, "This I like, that I loathe," with the greatest indifference, as if it were no such very pressing affair, and *all the while behaves very prettily*; till she is at last smitten with a handsome house, a couple of footmen in livery, or a black servant, or a coach with two sleek geldings, with which she is more taken than with her man. Why, what an idea does Mr. M. give us of the grave, masculine, genius of our Utopian philosophers, their sublime attainments, and gigantic energy, that they will not be able to manage these matters as decently and cleverly as the silliest women can do at present! Mr. M. indeed, endeavours to soften this absurdity by saying, that moral restraint at present owes its strength to selfish motives; what is this to this purpose? If Mr. M. chuses to say, that men will always be governed by the same gross mechanical motives that they are at present, I have no objection to make to it; but it is shifting the question; it is not arguing against the state of society we are considering from the consequences to which it would give rise, but against the possibility of its ever existing. It is to object to a system on account of the consequences which would follow if we were to suppose men to be actuated by entirely different motives and principles from what they are at present, and then to say, that those consequences would necessarily follow, because men would never be what we suppose them. Or it is to alarm the imagination by deprecating the evils that must follow from the practical adoption of a particular scheme, yet to allow that we have no reason to dread those consequences, but because the scheme itself is impracticable.—I am ashamed of wasting your readers' time and my own in thus beating the air. It is not, however, my fault, that Mr. Malthus

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has written nonsense; or that others have admired it. It is not Mr. M.'s nonsense, but the opinion of the world respecting it, that I would be thought to compliment by this serious refutation of what in itself neither deserves nor admits of any reasoning upon it. If, however, we recollect the source from whence Mr. M. borrowed his principle, and the application of it to improvements in political philosophy, we must allow that he is merely *passive* in error. The principle itself would not have been worth a farthing without the application, and he accordingly took them as he found them, lying snug together; and as Trim, after having converted the old jack-boots into a pair of new mortars, immediately planted them against which ever of my Uncle Toby's garisons the allies were then busy in besieging, so the public spirited gallantry of our modern engineer, directed him to bend the whole force of his clumsy discovery against that system of philosophy, which was the most talked of at the time, but to which it was the least applicable of all others. Wallace, I have no doubt, took up his idea either as a paradox or a *jeu d'esprit*; or, because any thing, he thought, was of weight enough to overturn what had never existed any where but in the imagination, or he was led into a piece of false logic by an error we are very apt to fall into, of supposing, because he had never been struck himself by the difficulty of population in such a state of society, that therefore, the people themselves would not find it out when it came, nor make any provision against it. But, though I can in some measure excuse a lively paradox, I do not think that the same favour is to be shewn to the dull, dogged, heavy repetition of absurdity.—Mr. M. might have taken as the motto of his first edition, "These three bear record on earth, Vice, Misery, and Population."—In the answer to Mr. G. this principle was represented as an evil, for which no remedy could be found but in evil: that its operation was mechanical, necessary, unceasing; that it went strait forward to its end, unchecked by fear, or reason, or remorse; that the evils which it drew after it could only be avoided by other evils, by actual vice and misery. Population, was in short the great devil, the untamed Beelzebub, that was only kept chained down by vice and misery; and which, if it were once let loose from these restraints, would go forth and ravage the earth. That they were therefore, the two main props and pillars of society, and that the lower and weaker they kept this principle, the better able they were

to contend with it: that, therefore, any diminution of that degree of them which at present prevails, and is found sufficient to keep the world in order, was of all things chiefly to be dreaded.—Our author is fully aware of the force of the stage maxim, to elevate and surprise. Having once healed the imaginations of his readers, he knows that he can afterwards mould them into what shape he pleases. All this bustle, and terror, and stage effect, and theatrical mummery, was only to serve a temporary purpose; for all of a sudden the scene is shifted, and the storm subsides. Having frightened away the boldest champions of modern philosophy, this monstrous appearance, full of strange and inexplicable horrors, is suffered quietly to shrink back to its natural dimensions, and we find it to be nothing more than a common-sized, tame-looking animal; which, however, requires a chain and the whip of its keeper to prevent it from becoming mischievous. Mr. M. then steps forward, and says, the evil we were all in danger of was not population, but philosophy. Nothing is to be done with the latter by mere reasoning. I, therefore, thought it right to make use of a little terror to accomplish the end. As to the principle of population itself, you need be under no alarm: only leave it to me, and I shall be able to manage it very well. All its dreadful consequences may be easily prevented by a proper application of the motives of common prudence and common decency. If any one should be at a loss to conceive how Mr. M. can reconcile such contrary opinions, I should be inclined to suggest to Mr. M. Hamlet's answer to his friend Guildenstern, " 'Tis as easy as lying; govern these ventages" (the work-houses, and charitable donations) "with your fingers and thumb; and this very instrument will discourse most excellent music: look you, here are the stops." (Mr. M.'s, Essay, and Mr. Whitbread's, Poor Bill.)—I am, Sir, your humble servant,—A. O.

An Address of several of his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects to their Protestant Fellow Subjects.

His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects flattered themselves, that the declarations they had already made of the integrity of their religious and civil tenets, the oaths they had taken to his Majesty's person, family, and government; the heroic exertions of a considerable proportion of them in his Majesty's fleets and armies; the repeated instances in which they have come forward in

their country's cause; their irreproachable demeanor in the general relations of life; and above all, the several acts of parliament past for their relief, avowedly in consequence of, and explicitly recognising their meritorious conduct, would have been a bond, to secure to them for ever, the affection and confidence of all their fellow subjects, and to make any further declaration of their principles wholly unnecessary. but, with astonishment and concern, they observe, that this is not altogether the case:—they are again publicly traduced; and attempts are again made to prejudice the public mind against them:—We, therefore, English Roman Catholics, whose names are hereunder written, beg leave again to solicit the attention of our countrymen, and to lay before them the following unanswered and unanswerable Documents of the purity and integrity of the Religious and Civil Principles of ALL his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects, in respect to their king and their country.—We entreat you to peruse them; and when you have perused them, to declare; “whether his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects maintain a single tenet, inconsistent with the purest loyalty; or interfering, in the slightest degree, with any one duty, which an Englishman owes his God, his king, or his country?—I. The First Document we present to you, is the oath and declaration prescribed by the British Parliament of the 31st of his present Majesty, and which is taken by all English Catholics.—I *A. B.* do hereby declare, that I do profess the Roman Catholic religion.—I *A. B.* do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity: and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them: and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown; which succession, by an act, entitled, ‘An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject,’ is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; hereby utterly renouncing

“and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these realms. And I do swear, that I do reject and detest as an unchristian and impious position, that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for, or under pretence of, their being heretics or infidels; and also that unchristian and impious principle, that faith is not to be kept with heretics or infidels: and I further declare, that it is not an article of my faith; and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that Princes excommunicated by the Pope and Council, or any authority of the See of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any person whatsoever: and I do promise, that I will not hold, maintain, or abet any such opinion, or any other opinions contrary to what is expressed in this declaration: and I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm: and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, or any person whatever, and without thinking that I am, or can be, acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with, or annul the same, or declare that it was null or void. So help me God.”

II. The next Documents we present to you are. The Oaths and Declarations prescribed by the acts of the Irish Parliament to Irish Roman Catholics.—The first is the Oath of Allegiance and Declaration, prescribed by the Irish acts of the 13th and 14th of his present Majesty; and is taken by all Irish Roman Catholics.—“I *A. B.* do take Almighty God, and his only Son Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, to witness, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance, to our most gracious Sovereign Lord King George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against

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" all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever
 " that shall be made against his person,
 " crown, and dignity; and I will do my
 " utmost endeavour to disclose and make
 " known to his Majesty, and his heirs, all
 " treasons and traiterous conspiracies, which
 " may be formed against him or them; and
 " I do faithfully promise to maintain, sup-
 " port, and defend, to the utmost of my
 " power, the succession of the crown in
 " his Majesty's family, against any person
 " or persons whatsoever, hereby utterly re-
 " nouncing and abjuring any obedience or
 " allegiance unto the person taking upon
 " himself the stile and title of Prince of
 " Wales, in the life-time of his father, and
 " who since his death is said to have as-
 " sumed the stile and title of King of Great
 " Britain and Ireland, by the name of
 " Charles the Third, and to any other per-
 " son claiming, or pretending a right to
 " the crown of these realms; and I do
 " swear that I do reject and detest, as un-
 " christian and impious to believe, that it
 " is lawful to murder or destroy any per-
 " son or persons whatsoever, for or under
 " pretence of their being heretics, and also
 " that unchristian and impious principle
 " that no faith is to be kept with heretics:
 " I further declare, that it is no article of
 " my faith, and that I do renounce, reject,
 " and abjure, the opinion that princes, ex-
 " communicated by the Pope and Council,
 " or by any authority of the see of Rome,
 " or by any authority whatsoever, may be
 " deposed or murdered by their subjects,
 " or by any person whatsoever; and I do
 " promise that I will not hold, maintain,
 " or abet, any such opinion, or any other
 " opinion, contrary to what is expressed in
 " this declaration: and I do declare that I
 " do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or
 " any other foreign prince, prelate, state,
 " or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any
 " temporal or civil jurisdiction, power,
 " superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or
 " indirectly, within this realm; and I do
 " solemnly in the presence of God, and of
 " his only Son Jesus Christ, my Redeemer,
 " profess, testify, and declare, that I do
 " make this declaration, and every part
 " thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of
 " the words of this oath, without any eva-
 " sion, equivocation, or mental reservation
 " whatever, and without any dispensation
 " already granted by the Pope, or any au-
 " thority of the see of Rome, or any per-
 " son whatever, and without thinking that
 " I am, or can be acquitted before God or
 " man, or absolved of this declaration, or

" any part thereof, although the Pope, or
 " any other person or persons or authority
 " whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul
 " the same, or declare that it was null and
 " void from the beginning. So help me
 " God."

The next is the Oath and Declaration
 prescribed by the Irish act of the 33d of
 his present Majesty, and is taken by all Irish
 Roman Catholics, wishing to entitle them-
 selves to the benefit of that act:—" I *A. B.*
 " do hereby declare, that I do profess the
 " Roman Catholic religion."—" I *A. B.* do
 " swear that I do abjure, condemn, and
 " detest, as unchristian and impious, the
 " principle that it is lawful to murder,
 " destroy, or any ways injure any persons
 " whatsoever, for or under the pretence of
 " being a heretic: and I do declare solemn-
 " ly before God, that I believe, that no
 " act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked,
 " can ever be justified or excused, by or
 " under pretence or colour that it was done
 " either for the good of the church, or in
 " obedience to any ecclesiastical power
 " whatsoever: I also declare, that it is not
 " an article of the Catholic Faith, neither am
 " I thereby required to believe or profess that
 " the Pope is infallible, or that I am bound
 " to obey any order, in its own nature im-
 " moral, though the Pope, or any eccle-
 " siastical power, should issue or direct
 " such order, but on the contrary, I hold
 " that it would be sinful in me to pay any
 " respect or obedience thereto: I further
 " declare, that I do not believe, that any
 " sin whatever committed by me, can be
 " forgiven, at the mere will of any Pope,
 " or any priest, or of any person or persons
 " whatsoever, but that sincere sorrow for
 " past sins, a firm and sincere resolution to
 " avoid future guilt, and to atone to God,
 " are previous and indispensable requisites to
 " establish a well founded expectation of
 " forgiveness, and that any person who re-
 " ceives absolution without these previous
 " requisites, so far from obtaining thereby
 " any remission of his sins, incurs the ad-
 " ditional guilt of violating a sacrament:
 " and I do swear that I will defend, to the
 " uttermost of my power, the settlement
 " and arrangement of property in this coun-
 " try, as established by the laws now in
 " being: I do hereby disclaim, disavow,
 " and solemnly abjure, any intention to
 " subvert the present church establishment,
 " for the purpose of substituting a Catholic
 " establishment in its stead: and I do so-
 " lemnly swear, that I will not exercise
 " any privilege to which I am or may be-

" come entitled, to disturb and weaken the
 " Protestant religion and Protestant govern-
 " ment in this kingdom. So help me God."

—Such are the principles which his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects have publicly and solemnly declared and professed on oath. There is not, in any of them, a single principle, which every Roman Catholic subject of his Majesty does not profess, or which, if his king and country required it, he would not think it his duty to seal with his blood.

III. In the year 1788, a Committee of the English Catholics waited on Mr. Pitt, respecting their Application for a Repeal of the Penal Laws. He requested to be furnished with authentic evidence, of the Opinions of the Roman Catholic Clergy and the Roman Catholic Universities abroad, " on the existence and extent of the Pope's dispensing power." Three questions were accordingly framed, and sent to the Universities of Paris, Lovain, Alcala, Doway, Salamanca, and Valadolid, for their Opinions. The Questions proposed to them were.—1. Has the Pope or cardinals, or any body of men or any individual of the Church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence, whatsoever, within the realm of England?—2. Can the Pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense with His Majesty's subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever?—3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic Faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction, either of a public or a private nature? The Universities answered unanimously,—1. That the Pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, has not any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England.—2. That the Pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, cannot absolve or dispense with His Majesty's subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever.—3. That there is no principle in the tenets of the Catholic Faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction either of a public or a private nature.—As soon as the opinions of the foreign Universities were received, they were transmitted to Mr. Pitt: but we earnestly beg of you

to observe, that it was for his satisfaction, not ours, that these opinions were taken: assuredly, His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects did not want the wisdom of foreign Universities to inform them, that His Majesty is the lawful Sovereign of all his Roman Catholic Subjects, and that, by every divine and human law, his Roman Catholic Subjects owe him true, dutiful, active, and unreserved allegiance.—Such then fellow countrymen and fellow subjects, such being our Religious and Civil Principles in respect to our King and our Country, let us now again ask you, is there in them, a single tenet, which is incompatible with the purest loyalty, or which in the slightest degree, interferes with the duty we owe to God, our King, or our Country? but are these principles really instilled into us? Do our actions correspond with them? In reply, we ask, are there not, at this very moment, thousands of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, who daily and hourly make the most heroic exertions and sacrifices in those fleets and armies, to whose patient and adventurous courage it is owing that we are still blessed with a King and a Country?—Now then, fellow-countrymen and fellow-subjects, be assured, that, among these heroic and inestimable defenders and supporters of their king and their country, there is not one, whose parents and whose priests have not taught, that loyalty is a religious as much as a civil duty; and that, when he is fighting for his king and his country, he is performing a duty to his God. (Signed) John Douglass, D. D. Vic. Ap. Lond. Shrewsbury, Petre, Dormer, H.Ch. Englefield, W. Jerningham, John Throckmorton, T. Gage, Geo. Jerningham, M. Langdale, John Webbe Weston, Francis Canning, Ch. Bellasyse, D. D. W. Sheldon, Ch. Conolly, G. Silvertop, John Charlton, James Langdale, R. K. Cox, John Collins, D. D. Lawrence Nihell, M. D. Ch. Butler, Michael Ann, W. Throckmorton, T. Lloyd, J. Bew, D. D. R. Butler, Ch. Fairfax, B. Salvin, J. W. Weston, jun. James Wheble, T. Stapleton, Ralph Riddell, George Cary, D. Blount, W. Cruise, E. Jerningham, C. Hornyhold, T. Walmesley, John Prujean, F. Cholmeley, F. Witham, H. Huddleston, F. Eyre, John Greenham, M. Constable Maxwell, R. Clifford, R. Rookwood Gage, Thomas Wright, Nicholas Selby, Anthony Wright, John Wright, T. Wright, jun, T. Thorpe, John Gabb, James Yorke Branston, Edward Whright, Edward Walsh.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR — *Forty-ninth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Warsaw, Jan. 8. — Breslaw has surrendered. The capitulation has not yet been received at the head-quarters; neither has the inventory of the magazines of subsistence, or of the clothing and artillery yet come to hand. They are, however, known to be very considerable. Prince Jerome must have made his entry into the place. He is going to besiege Brieg, Schweidnitz, and Kosel. — General Victor, commander of the 10th corps of the army, has marched to besiege Colberg and Dantzic, and to take these places during the remainder of the winter. — M. de Zastrow, Aid-de-Camp to the King of Prussia, a wise and moderate man, who had signed the armistice which his master did not ratify, was however, on his arrival at Königsburg, appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. — Our cavalry is not far from Königsburg. — The Russian army is continuing its movement towards Grodno. We learn that in the last engagements it had a great number of generals killed and wounded. It evinces great discontents against the Emperor of Russia and the court. The soldiers say, that if their army had been judged strong enough to fight with advantage against the French, the Emperor, his guards, the garrison of Petersburg, and the generals of the court, would have been conducted to the army by the same security which brought them to it last year; that if, on the contrary, the events of Austerlitz and those of Jena made it be thought that the Russians could not obtain successes against the French army, they ought not to have been engaged in an unequal struggle. They also say, "the Emperor Alexander has compromised our glory. We had always been vanquishers; we had established and shared the opinion that we were invincible. Things are greatly altered. For these two years past we have been led about from the frontiers of Poland to Austria, from the Dniester to the Vistula, and made to fall every where into the snare of the enemy. It is difficult not to perceive that all this is ill-managed." — Gen. Michelson is still in Moldavia. There is no news of his having marched against the Turkish army, which occupies Bucharest and Wallachia. The fears of that war are hitherto confined to the investing of Choczim and Bender. Great movements are taking place throughout all Turkey to repel so unjust an aggression. — Gen. Baron Vincent is arrived from Vienna at Warsaw, with letters from the Emperor of Austria for the Emperor Napoleon. — There had been a great fall of

snow, and it had frozen for three days. The use of sledges had given a great rapidity to the communications, but the thaw has just begun again. The Poles assert, that such a winter is unexampled in this country. The temperature is in reality milder than it generally is at Paris at this season.

Fiftieth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Warsaw, Jan. 13. — The troops found at Ostrolenka several sick Russians, whom the enemy had been unable to take off with him. Independent of the loss of the Russian army in killed and wounded, it has suffered still greater losses by the illness which increases in it from day to day. — On the 8th of January the garrison of Breslau, consisting of 5,500 men, defiled before Prince Jerome. The town has sustained considerable damage. From the first moment it was invested, the Prussian governor caused the three suburbs to be burned. The fortress was regularly besieged; we were already battering it in breach when it surrendered. The Bavarian and Wirtemberg troops distinguished themselves by their intelligence and bravery. Prince Jerome is now investing and besieging, at the same time, all the other fortresses in Silesia; it is probable that they will not hold out long. — The corps of 10,000 men, whom the Prince of Pless formed of the garrisons of the fortresses, were cut to pieces in the engagements of the 29th and 30th of December. — Gen. Montbrun, with the Wirtemberg cavalry, went to meet the Prince of Pless, near Chlau, which he took possession of on the 28th, in the evening. On the following morning, at five o'clock, the Prince of Pless ordered him to be attacked. Gen. Montbrun, taking advantage of the unfavourable position of the enemy's infantry, made a movement to the left, turned and killed a number of men, made 700 prisoners, took four pieces of cannon, and as many horses. — The principal forces, however, of the Prince of Pless lay behind on the side of Neis, where he assembled them after the engagement of Strechlen. He left Schurgalt, and marching day and night, advanced as far as the night camp of the Wirtemberg brigade, which were drawn up in the rear of Hube, under Breslau. At eight in the morning he attacked, with 600 men, the village of Griesten, occupied by two battalions of infantry, and by the Lilange light horse, under the command of the Adjutant Commandant Duvyrier; but he met with so vigorous a reception, that he was forced to make a speedy retreat. Gen. Montbrun and Minucci received orders im-

mediately on their return from Ohlau, to cut off the enemy's retreat. But the Prince of Pless made haste to disperse his troops, and made them return by detachments into the fortresses, abandoning in his flight a part of his artillery, a great deal of baggage, and several horses. He had a number of men killed in this affair, and left us 800 prisoners.—Letters received from Bucharest give some details concerning the preparations for war making by Barayctar and the Pacha of Wid-din. On the 20th December, the advanced guard of the Turkish army, consisting of 15,000 men, were on the frontiers of Wallachia and Moldavia. The Prince Dolgorucky was also there with his troops. They were thus in the presence of each other. In passing Bucharist, the Turkish officers appeared to be very much animated; they said to a French officer who was in that town, "the French shall see what we are capable of; we form the right of the army of Poland; we shall shew ourselves worthy to be praised by the Emperor Napoleon the Great."—Every thing is in motion through this vast empire; the Sheiks and Ulemas give the impulsion, and every one flies to arms in order to repel the most unjust of aggressions.—Count Italinsky has hitherto only avoided being sent to the Seven Towers by promising that on the return of his messenger the Russians will have received orders to abandon Moldavia and restore Choczim and Bender.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA. *From the London Gazette. Downing Street, May 9, 1807. Concluded from page 920.*

I. All private property of individuals, whether on land, or embarked, shall be respected. The religion of the inhabitants, their mosques, and their laws, shall be respected, as well as their houses and families.—II. The Commandant, his Excellency Emen Bey, as well as the Commandant of the Marine, Salek Aga, and Mahamet Naim Effendi, with all the official retinue of the government, the troops and the crews of the vessels, belonging to government, shall be sent to a Port of Turkey, with the arms and baggage of individuals, but they are to consider themselves as prisoners of war, and shall not be engaged to take up arms against the British forces or their allies until exchanged.—III. The vessels belonging to government, and all public property, shall be given up to the

British forces, and commissaries shall be appointed on both sides to make an inventory.—IV. All Ottoman vessels belonging to individuals, and all property belonging to private subjects of the Sublime Porte, which shall be found within Alexandria, shall be respected. Such persons as wish to remain in the country shall have the liberty to do so, if their conduct and characters shall make it safe; and those who wish to depart, may carry with them their properties, and shall be furnished with passports for landing in any port of Turkey, which shall not be blockaded.—V. There shall be a general amnesty for all the inhabitants, nor shall any notice be taken of the conduct they may have held during the defence of the place.—VI. There shall be no seizure of the property of individuals, if they shall not become enemies of Great Britain.—VII. The gate of Rosetta shall be placed at night in the hands of the forces of his Britannic Majesty, as well as Fort Cretin and Fort Caffarellie.—From the camp without the city of Alexandria, the 20th March, 1807, or the 10th of the month Maharen, of the year 1222. (Signed) SEID MAHAMED NAIM EFFENDI. HAIG MAHAMEL KATEP. SIEG IBRAHIM BASA. (Signed) ALEX. M. FRASER, Maj. Gen. commanding his Britannic Majesty's troops.—BEN. HALLOWELL, Captain of his Majesty's ship Tigre.

(True Copy.)

GEORGE AIREY, Acting as Secretary.

Return of killed and wounded of the army in the attack of the 18th March, 1807, under the command of Major General Fraser.—1st bat. 35th reg. 2 rank and file, killed; 1 subaltern, 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, wounded.—Reg. de Roll, 1 assistant surgeon, 2 rank and file, killed; 1 rank and file, wounded.—Sicilian Volunteers, 3 rank and file, killed.—Royal Artillery, 1 bombardier, 1 gunner, wounded.—Total—1 officer, 6 rank and file, killed; 1 officer, 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, wounded.—GEORGE AIREY, Acting Dep. Adj. General.

Return of the Garrison of Alexandria, previous to its surrender, the 21st March, 1807.

Soldiers of the line, 215.—Gunners, 44.—Sailors and marines, 208.—Total, 467.—Escaped of the above number, while the capitulation was pending, 240.—Total prisoners remaining, 227.—GEORGE AIREY, Acting Dep. Adj. General.

[The list of ordnance will appear in the next Gazette.]